

## Message Text

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EXDIS

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, OVIP(KISSINGER, HENRY A.)

SUBJECT: SPECIAL SUMMARY NUMBER TWO: TELEGRAPHIC SUMMARY

1. PORTUGAL: SOCIALISTS CONTEMPLATE GIRDING FOR  
STRUGGLE

EMBASSY LISBON REPORTS THAT THE SOCIALISTS ARE IN THE  
MIDST OF AN INTRA-PARTY DEBATE OVER AN APPROPRIATE  
RESPONSE TO THE NEW AFM PLAN WHICH BY ESTABLISHING  
DIRECT LINKS TO THE PEOPLE IN EFFECT WRITES THE PARTIES  
OUT OF THE REVOLUTIONARY SCENARIO. THE EMBASSY HAS  
LEARNED THAT SOARES AND THE SOCIALIST LEADERSHIP ARE NOW  
CONTEMPLATING THE FOLLOWING OPTIONS:

--PULLING BACK AND RELYING UPON THEIR NATIONAL ORGANIZA-  
TION AND POPULAR SUPPORT TO ATTEMPT TO TAKE CHARGE OF  
THE POPULAR ASSEMBLIES;

--GOING TO THE STREETS AS SOON AS THEY CAN EFFECTIVELY  
ORGANIZE A CONVINCING SHOW OF STRENGTH;  
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--BIDING THE R TIME WHILE THE ECONOMY CONTINUES TO  
DETERIORATE IN THE EXPECTATION THAT CONDITIONS WILL  
BE MORE CONDUCTIVE TO ACTION AT SOME LATER DATE; OR

--LEAVING THE GOVERNMENT, ALONG WITH THE POPULAR DEMOCRATIC PARTY, AND MOVING INTO OPEN OPPOSITION.

EMBASSY COMMENT: EACH OPTION PRESENTS PROBLEMS FOR THE SOCIALIST LEADERSHIP. IF THEY DO NOT TAKE A FIRM STAND SOON, HOWEVER, THEY RUN THE REAL RISK OF WATCHING THEIR STRENGTH ERODE STEADILY. SOARES NOW FACES A CLEAR CHALLENGE TO HIS PARTY'S SURVIVAL. IN THE PAST, IN THE FACE OF SIMILAR CHALLENGES HE AND THE SOCIALISTS HAVE ALWAYS WAFFLED BUT THIS COULD BE THEIR LAST CHANCE.

THE EMBASSY HAS ALSO LEARNED THAT THE AFM'S INITIAL STEP IN IMPLEMENTING THE PLAN WOULD BE A PILOT PROJECT IN SETUBAL, WHICH IS MORE BAD NEWS SINCE THE COMMUNISTS ARE ALREADY WELL ORGANIZED THERE AT THE LOCAL LEVEL. THE COMMUNISTS, AS THEIR INITIAL REACTIONS SUGGEST, ARE READY TO WORK WITH THE AFM PLAN TO SHAPE IT TO THEIR PURPOSES.

(SEE ITEM 3 IN INTELLIGENCE SUMMARY)

## 2. FAHMI AND RIFAI DISCUSS ISRAEL-UNGA ISSUE AT THE JIDDA CONFERENCE

PRIOR TO LEARNING THAT SYRIAN FOREIGN MINISTER KHADDAM PLANS TO INTRODUCE A RESOLUTION AT THE ISLAMIC FOREIGN MINISTER'S CONFERENCE IN JIDDA CALLING FOR THE SUSPENSION OF ISRAEL FROM THE UNGA, EMBASSIES CAIRO AND AMMAN REPORTED THEIR DISCUSSIONS ON THE SUBJECT WITH THE GOVERNMENTS OF EGYPT AND JORDAN.

IN CAIRO, FAHMY AGREED WITH AMBASSADOR EILTS THAT THE SUSPENSION OF ISRAEL WOULD NOT BE HELPFUL TO THE PEACE NEGOTIATIONS, AND SAID HE HAD INSTRUCTED THE EGYPTIAN DELEGATION TO THE JIDDA CONFERENCE TO TRY TO HEAD OFF ANY SUSPENSION RESOLUTION. FAHMY WARNED, HOWEVER, THAT:  
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--THE USG SHOULD NOT UNDERESTIMATE THE HEAD OF STEAM THAT HAS GROWN UP AMONG THE NON-ALIGNED STATES ON THIS ISSUE.

--THE EGYPTIAN DELEGATION IN JIDDA WILL HAVE TO BE CAREFUL IN HANDLING THE PROBLEM, SINCE EGYPT CANNOT APPEAR TO BE LESS CONCERNED ABOUT ISRAEL'S DISREGARD OF ARAB RIGHTS THAN OTHER NON-ALIGNED STATES.

--AMBASSADOR MOYNIHAN SHOULD BE CAREFUL ABOUT WHAT HE SAYS ON THIS MATTER; OTHERWISE HE WILL FIND "THIRTY TO SIXTY" NON-ALIGNED DELEGATES PERSONALIZING THIS ISSUE AND MAKING IT HARD FOR FRIENDS OF THE US TO MODERATE.

FAHMY ALSO SAID THAT IF THE RESOLUTION IS PASSED BY THE JIDDA CONFERENCE, HE THOUGHT HE COULD QUASH IT AT THE UN THROUGH PROCEDURAL MEANS.

IN AMMAN, PM RIFAI SAID THE GOJ IS SERIOUSLY WORRIED THAT THE ISSUE WILL BE RAISED BOTH AT THE JIDDA CONFERENCE AND BY THE PLO AT THE LIMA NON-ALIGNED CONFERENCE. HE HAS INSTRUCTED THE JORDANIAN DELEGATION IN JIDDA TO LOBBY ACTIVELY TO KEEP THE ISSUE FROM COMING UP, BUT ADMITS IF IT DOES COME UP IT WILL BE VERY DIFFICULT FOR SUCH A GATHERING TO OPPOSE PUBLICLY.

ARE THE SAUDIS ABOUT TO TURN TOWARD THE EUROPEANS?  
3. ARE THE SAUDIS ABOUT TO TURN TOWARD THE EUROPEANS?

EMBASSY JIDDA REPORTS THAT CROWN PRINCE FAHD WILL PAY AN OFFICIAL VISIT TO PARIS JULY 21. CHARGE HORAN BELIEVES:

--THIS VISIT COULD BE "NORMAL" IN THE CONTEXT OF THE LONG AND FRIENDLY RELATIONS BETWEEN SAUDI ARABIA AND FRANCE, AND HAVE NO REMARKABLE RESULTS.

--IT MIGHT ALSO, HOWEVER, BE THE FIRST STEP IN SAUDI ARABIA'S USE OF ITS "EUROPEAN OPTION", AND MARK A CONSCIOUS TURNING AWAY FROM THE US IN BOTH THE MILITARY  
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SUPPLY AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT AREAS.

RECALLING AMBASSADOR AKINS'S LONG, TOUGH MEETING WITH PRINCE FAHD ON JUNE 15, AND FAHD'S SEARCHING QUESTIONS ABOUT US WILLINGNESS AND ABILITY TO RESPOND TO SAUDI MILITARY REQUIREMENTS, HORAN REMINDS THAT ON JUNE 30 WHEN FAHD ASKED WHETHER ANY REPLY TO HIS QUESTIONS HAD BEEN RECEIVED, THE REPLY WAS "NOT YET". HORAN BELIEVES IT IS NOW VERY IMPORTANT THAT FAHD BE INFORMED OF THE US REACTION BEFORE HE LEAVES FOR FRANCE.

4. PANAMA: TORRIJOS SHOWS MODERATION AGAIN

EMBASSY PANAMA REPORTS THAT GENERAL TORRIJOS' MEETING WITH A GROUP OF STUDENTS JULY 9 WAS HELD WITHOUT GOP OFFICIALS REVEALING DAMAGING DETAILS OF THE CANAL TREATY NEGOTIATIONS CONTRARY TO THEIR EARLIER DECISION. ACCORDING TO THE EMBASSY:

--TORRIJOS HAS AGAIN DEMONSTRATED CONTROL AND MODERATION IN DEALING WITH AN EXPLOSIVE SITUATION, ADMITTEDLY, ' HOWEVER, AT SOME POLITICAL COST TO HIMSELF.

--SOURCES CLOSE TO TORRIJOS HAVE SAID THAT OVER THE

WEEKEND AND EARLY THIS WEEK TORRIJOS HAD BECOME CONVINCED THAT A GAP HAD DEVELOPED BETWEEN THE SECRETARY AND PRESIDENT FORD WITH THE LATTER'S DOMESTIC POLITICAL ADVISORS BEING DOMINANT.

--BY WEIGHING IN WITH INFLUENTIAL GOP LEADERS WHO IN TURN TALKED TO TORRIJOS, THE EMBASSY WAS ABLE TO PERSUADE THE GOP TO LIMIT THE AMOUNT OF INFORMATION ON THE NEGOTIATIONS PROVIDED TO THE STUDENTS.

EMBASSY COMMENT: TORRIJOS IS STILL UNDER TREMENDOUS PRESSURE. WHAT IS NEEDED NOW IS A USG DECISION TO PROCEED WITH THE NEGOTIATIONS VERY SOON. OTHER POSITIVE SIGNS OF SUPPORT FROM THE US, SUCH AS A LETTER FROM GEORGE MEANY TO TORRIJOS EXPRESSING GENERAL SUPPORT FOR THE IDEA OF A NEW TREATY, WOULD GREATLY HELP THE USG MANAGE THE SITUATION. TORRIJOS NEEDS EVIDENCE THAT MODERATION  
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IS MORE EFFECTIVE THAN INTRANSIGENCE AND CONFRONTATION.

5. NASA TRACKING STATION IN MADAGASCAR MUST CLOSE

IN A MEETING WITH OUR CHARGE IN TANANERIVE, MALAGASY PRESIDENT RATSIRAKA SAID THAT IF THE USG WILL NOT PAY A BACK RENT OF TEN MILLION DOLLARS ON THE NASA STATION IN MADAGASCAR AS HE REQUESTED, THEIR IS NO CHOICE BUT TO CLOSE IT. RATSIRAKA SAID:

--THE MAIN PROBLEM IS THAT HE GAVE HIS WORD TO THE NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT COUNCIL THAT HE HAD OBTAINED A HIGH RENTAL FROM THE NASA STATION BASED ON HIS DISCUSSION WITH NASA DIRECTOR FLETCHER DURING A 1973 VISIT TO THE US.  
-

--HE HAS TO KEEP HIS WORD SINCE MADAGASCAR HAS LITTLE MORE THAN ITS SOVEREIGNTY, INDEPENDENCE AND INTEGRITY TO FALL BACK ON.

--HE IS AWARE OF THE MONEY AND BENEFITS MADAGASCAR WILL LOSE IF THE STATION CLOSES, BUT SAID THE MALAGASY PEOPLE ARE PREPARED TO MAKE SACRIFICES.

--HIS IS NOT ANTI-AMERICAN BUT THE US HAS LIED TO HIM IN THE PAST--I.E. ABOUT SECRETARY KISSINGER NOT BEING IN NEW YORK AND HENCE UNAVAILABLE FOR A MEETING WHEN, ACCORDING TO THE PRC AMBASSADOR, THE SECRETARY WAS THERE. (THE CHARGE REMINDED HIM THAT THESE MISUNDERSTANDINGS HAD BEEN DISCUSSED BEFORE.)

6. INDIA: SAXBE ON MEETING WITH GANDHI

AMBASSADOR SAXBE , THINKING OUT LOUD ABOUT THE POSITIVE  
IMPLICATIONS OF HIS MEETING WITH MRS. GANDHI, BELIEVES  
THAT:

--THE US SHOULD NOT PROTEST THE JULY 9 DEMONSTRATIONS  
AT THE USIS FACILITY, SINCE IT IS INCONSISTENT WITH  
OUR PREFERENCE FOR DEMOCRACY TO COMPLAIN ABOUT A PEACEFUL  
ASSEMBLY.

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--MRS. GANDHI IS "NOW MORE THAN EVER THE PERSON WHO IS  
IMPORTANT HERE" AND SAXBE'S MEETING WITH HER SHOULD BE  
REGARDED AS RECOGNITION OF THIS FACT, NOT AS CONDONING  
HER RECENT ACTIONS.

--HE SHOULD MEET AGAIN WITH MRS. GANDHI TO EXPLAIN  
PERSONALLY PRESIDENT FORD'S NEED TO CANCEL HIS PROPOSED  
TRIP TO INDIA AND TO GET HER REACTION TO THE MOVEMENT  
OF A US NAVAL TASK FORCE INTO THE INDIAN OCEAN.

7. DEMIREL PRAISES ADMINISTRATION EFFORTS TO LIFT  
EMBARGO

IN A PRESS CONFERENCE JULY 10 DEMIREL DECLINED COMMENT  
ON THE POSSIBLE LIFTING OF THE ARMS EMBARGO BY CONGRESS.  
HE PRAISED THE PRESIDENT AND THE SECRETARY, HOWEVER,  
FOR THEIR GREAT EFFORTS. DEMIREL ALSO SAID THE GOT  
WOULD DECIDE WHAT COURSE TO FOLLOW ON THE EMBARGO AT A  
NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL MEETING FOLLOWED BY A  
CABINET MEETING JULY 16.

ZAIRE: AN ASSESSMENT OF MOBUTU AFTER THE ABORTIVE

COUP

EMBASSY KINSHASA REPORTS THAT WHILE PRESIDENT MOBUTU  
APPEARS IN FULL CONTROL, HIS POSITION HAS NONETHELESS  
BEEN WEAKENED BY THE ABORTIVE COUP PLOT AND ITS AFTERMATH.  
ARMY LOYALTY HAS BEEN STRAINED, HIGH PARTY OFFICIALS  
HAVE BEEN ALIENATED, AND SEEDS OF FUTURE DISSENSION  
HAVE BEEN WIDELY SOWN. A RETURN TO THE ALOSE RELATIONS  
OF EARLIER YEARS IS NOW OUT OF THE QUESTION BUT THE  
EMBASSY NOTES THAT MOBUTU:

--HAS KEPT OPEN HIS PRIVATE LINES OF COMMUNICATION  
WITH THE EMBASSY;

--SAYS HE CONTINUES TO WELCOME US INVESTMENT;

--HAS QUIETLY COOPERATED IN THE TANZANIAN KIDNAP CASE;  
AND

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--WITH SOME UNFORTUNATE LAPSES, HAS REINED IN THE LOCAL  
PRESS CAMPAIGN AGAINST THE US.

9. SPAIN AND NATO

EMBASSY MADRID LEARNED FROM THE BELGIAN AMBASSADOR THAT  
FOREIGN MINISTER CORTINA HAS EXPRESSED DISPLEASURE OVER  
THE STATUS OF US BASES IN SPAIN. CORTINA:

--MAINTAINED THAT THE ADVANTAGES WHICH NATO ENJOYS AS  
THE RESULT OF US FACILITIES IN SPAIN MUST BE FORMALIZED  
IN WRITING; OTHERWISE THE US FACILITIES WOULD BE CON-  
SIDERABLY REDUCED;

--SAID HE WAS CONSIDERING CALLING IN OTHER NATO  
AMBASSADORS TO MAKE THESE SAME POINTS.

NOTE: INTELLIGENCE SUMMARY FOLLOWS SEPTTEL. INGERSOLL

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